

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----181114 092744 /17

O 181016Z FEB 77  
FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
TO AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE  
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6500

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EXDIS

EYES ONLY FOR SPECIAL EMISSARY CLIFFORD AND ACTING SECRETARY  
HARTMAN

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PFOR, OVIP (CLIFFORD, CLARK M.) TU, GR, CY  
SUBJECT: CLIFFORD MISSION

REF: A) VIENNA 1267, B) ATHENS 1584

1. WHILE I APPRECIATE COURTEOUS EFFORT WHICH LIES BEHIND REFTEL B, I MUST RESPECTFULLY ADVISE YOU THAT CERTAIN PORTIONS OF GUIDANCE IN REFTEL A ARE NOT REPEAT NOT ACCEPTABLE TO ME. AFTER APPROXIMATELY TWENTY YEARS OF NON-PARTISAN STATE DEPARTMENT EXPERIENCE AS EITHER AN AMBASSADOR ABROAD OR SUB-CABINET OFFICER AT HOME, I HAVE DEVELOPED CERTAIN FIRM CONVICTIONS ABOUT THE PROPER PRACTICES OF DIPLOMACY. ONE SUCH CONVICTION, STRONGLY HELD, IS THAT IN DEALING WITH A FOREIGN STATE, OUR GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO NOTHING BEHIND THE BACK OF ITS AMBASSADOR TO THAT STATE OR IN ANY OTHER WAY UNDERMINE HIS EFFECTIVENESS OR DENIGRATE THE OFFICE WHICH HE HOLDS. FOR A VISITING EMISSARY TO REQUIRE THAT AN AMBASSADOR ABSENT HIMSELF FROM A MEETING SO THAT THE VISITOR AND THE PRIME MINISTER CAN TALK WITHOUT HIS BEING PRESENT DOES JUST THAT. SEVERAL OTHER PASSAGES IN REFTEL A ARE OF SIMILAR IMPORT AND ARE THEREFORE ALSO PROFESSIONALLY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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UNACCEPTABLE TO ME.

2. AS THE RECORD WILL SHOW, I FIRST SUGGESTED A CLIFFORD-TYPE MISSION TO THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN LONG AGO, PERSISTED IN THIS RECOMMENDATION WHEN IT WAS NOT POPULAR TO DO SO, AND HAVE BEEN A STRONG ADVOCATE OF ITS POTENTIAL USEFULNESS EVER SINCE. I CONTINUE STRONGLY TO SUPPORT THIS EFFORT (DESPITE THE FACT THAT

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE AREA MAKE THE ANKARA PORTION OF IT AN EVEN MORE DELICATE PROBLEM TO HANDLE). HAVING SAID THIS, HOWEVER, I MUST ALSO EMPHASIZE THAT A SPECIAL EMISSARY, BRIEFLY ON THE SCENE, DOES NOT ECLIPSE THE ONGOING NEED FOR A SUSTAINED, EFFECTIVE PERFORMANCE BY THE PRESIDENT'S RESIDENT AMBASSADOR -- AN IMPORTANCE WHICH RELATES NOT ONLY TO RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE SPECIAL EMISSARY, BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER HIS VISIT, BUT ALSO TO MANY OTHER IMPORTANT US INTERESTS AS WELL.

3. AS IS CLEAR FROM THE ABOVE, I AM NOT ONE OF THOSE WHO OPPOSES THE USE OF SPECIAL EMISSARIES IN SITUATIONS SUCH AS WE ARE FACING HERE. I DO NOT AGREE WITH THE PUBLIC CRITICISM THAT IS OFTEN VOICED WITH RESPECT TO THIS PRACTICE. ON THE CONTRARY, I BELIEVE THIS PRACTICE WILL CONTINUE TO BE AN ONGOING AND USEFUL PART OF THE DIPLOMATIC SCENE. IT WILL BE USEFUL ONLY, HOWEVER, IF THE SPECIAL EMISSARIES MAKE A CLEAR EFFORT TO STRENGTHEN THE HAND OF THE RESIDENT AMBASSADOR AND HIS STAFF -- WHICH MAKING A POINT OF MEETING WITH DIGNITARIES WITHOUT THE AMBASSADOR CERTAINLY WILL NOT REPEAT NOT DO. THIS IS A PARTICULARLY INAPPROPRIATE PRACTICE IN SITUATIONS WHERE THE RECORD HAS ALREADY SHOWN THAT HOST COUNTRY OFFICIALS FEEL NO INHIBITIONS IN SPEAKING FRANKLY IN THE AMBASSADOR'S PRESENCE.

4. ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION IS ABOUT TO MAKE A MAJOR EFFORT TO SALVAGE THE VITALLY IMPORTANT US/TURKISH SECURITY RELATIONSHIP, I WOULD LIKE TO STAY ON IN ANKARA AND TO CONTRIBUTE WHATEVER ASSETS I HAVE ACCUMULATED HERE TO THIS IMPORTANT TASK. I FULLY RECOGNIZE, HOWEVER, THAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION MAY FEEL THAT A DIFFERENT AMBASSADOR HERE CAN BE OF GREATER LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ASSISTANCE TO IT. IT IS ALSO FREE TO DECIDE THAT THE LOCAL INFLUENCE AND EFFECTIVENESS OF ITS AMBASSADOR, WHOEVER HE IS, WILL BE SACRIFICED ON OCCASION BY THE KIND OF ACTIONS REQUESTED IN REFTTEL A -- EVEN THOUGH, I MUST AGAIN EMPHASIZE MY BELIEF THAT THIS KIND OF UNDERMINING OF THOSE CONDUCTING OUR OVERSEAS DIPLOMATIC EFFORT IS UNWISE. IT IS UNWISE BECAUSE THE ROLE OF SPECIAL EMISSARY, HOWEVER IMPORTANT, IS A MOMENTARY ONE, AND IN THE LONG PULL, FAR MORE MUST DEPEND ON THE DAILY CREDIBILITY AND PERFORMANCE OF OUR PERMANENT OVERSEAS DIPLOMATIC ESTABLISHMENTS.

5. I REFERRED AT THE BEGINNING OF THIS TELEGRAM TO CERTAIN FIRMLY HELD CONVICTIONS. ANOTHER OF THESE IS THAT, FOR THE MOST OBVIOUS OF REASONS, AN AMBASSADOR MUST CARRY OUT INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN TO HIM BY THE DEPARTMENT IF THESE ARE REITERATED AFTER HIS CONTRARY VIEWS HAVE BEEN EXAMINED. IF THE DEPARTMENT INSTRUCTS ME TO CARRY OUT THE REQUESTS FOR PRIVATE MEETINGS CONTAINED IN SECOND SENTENCE, PARA 1, AND IN PARA 2-B, 2-D, 2-G, I WILL DO SO. AT THAT POINT HOWEVER MY USEFULNESS HERE WILL HAVE BEEN UNNECESSARILY DAMAGED, AND I WILL HAVE RECEIVED CLEAR SIGNAL THAT AN AMBASSADOR WHO AD-

HERES TO MY PROFESSIONAL BELIEFS IS NO LONGER WANTED IN ANKARA.  
MACOMBER

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PERSONAL OPINION, INSTRUCTIONS, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE, VISITS  
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**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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**To:** ATHENS STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009